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ABSTRACT

This document is the report of a project to strengthen democratic reforms in Poland by enhancing student and teacher understanding of citizenship in a democracy. The goal of the initiative is to promote the development of democracy in Poland by instituting a new citizenship curriculum in Polish schools. The immediate goal of this project was to develop curriculum guides for an eighth grade course and a secondary school course on citizenship for democracy. The project has met all of its key objectives including: (1) developing and publishing a three-volume curriculum guide for courses on citizenship in a democracy that will be used in subsequent curriculum development and teacher in-service programs; (2) introducing Polish teachers to new instructional strategies and materials of particular value in education for democratic citizenship; (3) mobilizing and training a core group of Polish teachers who now have experienced a process of democratic reform and who can play leadership roles in disseminating the new approaches and materials throughout Poland; and (4) laying the foundation for ongoing working relationships between the Ministry of National Education and the National Center for Teacher Training in Poland and key citizenship education centers in the United States. The project has contributed to the understanding of how best to serve the special needs of citizenship educators in countries like Poland which are trying to overcome the legacy of Communist rule. The report recognizes a need to teach about democracy in ways that overcome popular skepticism about the efficacy of democratic ideals and formulas, and to incorporate economic education into civic education. (DK)

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# BUILDING A FOUNDATION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION IN POLAND'S SCHOOLS

A Project of

The Polish Ministry of National Education

and

The Mershon Center
The Ohio State University

Funded by

The National Endowment for Democracy

Final Report

June 1993

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

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## Building a Foundation for Civic Education in Poland's Schools

### Executive Summary

This project has been a collaborative effort of the Polish Ministry of National Education and the Mershon Center at The Ohio State University. The project is part of a long-term effort to strengthen democratic reforms in Poland by enhancing student and teacher understanding of citizenship in a democracy. The project has met all of its key objectives. It has:

1. Developed and published a three volume Curriculum Guide for courses on citizenship in a democracy that will be used in subsequent curriculum development and teacher in-service programs. This Guide has been adopted by the Ministry of National Education and key parts have already been widely circulated through a national professional education journal in Poland.
2. Introduced Polish teachers to new instructional strategies and materials of particular value in education for democratic citizenship.
3. Mobilized and trained a core group of Polish teachers who have now experienced a process of democratic curriculum reform and who can play leadership roles in disseminating the new approaches and materials throughout Poland.
4. Laid the foundation for on-going working relationships between the Ministry of National Education and the National Center for Teacher Training in Poland and key citizenship education centers in the United States.

The project has also contributed to our understanding of how best to serve the special needs of citizenship educators in countries like Poland who are trying to overcome the legacy of communist rule. Specifically, the project has shown the need to:

1. Establish a genuine partnership between Polish educators and those U.S. education consultants and centers who are trying to help them. This relationship must be one of mutual respect and mutual learning. It must empower the Poles to adjust American knowledge to fit their own circumstances and needs. It must reflect and reinforce a long-term commitment to the collaboration.
2. Teach about democracy in ways that overcome popular skepticism about the efficacy of democratic ideals and formulas. The chief legacy of the communist past has been the delegitimization of the very ideals and practices that are at the heart of Western democracy. Principles such as popular sovereignty and practices such as voting were turned into hollow shells and meaningless rituals by the communists.
3. Pay explicit attention to the question of civic leadership. As Polish educators have remarked, Polish youth must learn to accept responsibility for taking pro-active roles in civic life--roles that involve the exercise of leadership and knowledge of leadership skills.
4. Incorporate economic education as a component of civic education. If democratic political institutions are to succeed in Poland, economic reforms aimed at improving the quality of life of Polish citizens must also succeed. That can only happen if Polish youth learn to understand the operation of market economies.

**Building a Foundation for Civic Education in Poland's Schools**

***A Project Funded by the National Endowment for Democracy***

**Final Report**
**June, 1993**

The project, *Building a Foundation for Civic Education in Poland's Schools*, has been the first step in a multi-year initiative entitled *Education for Democratic Citizenship* being undertaken by the Polish Ministry of National Education and The Ohio State University's Mershon Center. The goal of the initiative is to promote the development of democracy in Poland by instituting a new citizenship curriculum in Polish schools.

## PROJECT GOALS

The immediate goal of this project has been to develop Curriculum Guides for an eighth grade course and a secondary school course on "Citizenship for Democracy." The Curriculum Guides were to:

1. provide the Polish Ministry of National Education with the basic planning tools needed to fully develop courses on democratic citizenship at the primary and secondary levels;
2. provide the Polish Ministry of National Education with materials which can be used to begin retraining Polish teachers immediately.

The process of developing the Curriculum Guides was to achieve three further goals:

3. help a core group of Polish educators to clarify and further develop their own understanding of democracy and civic education;
4. introduce Polish educators to new instructional strategies especially useful in civic education; and

5. establish working relationships between leading American and Polish educators and scholars concerned with civic education.

Finally, the long-term goals of this project, and of the overall *Education for Citizenship in Democracy* initiative, go to the heart of the effort to introduce democracy in Poland:

6. Students and teachers involved in the citizenship courses will understand and respect such basic democratic values as: the tolerance of dissenting and minority views, support for civil liberties, and the importance of citizen participation in governance.
7. Students and teachers involved in the citizenship courses will be competent in the basic skills required of citizens in their roles as voters, electoral gladiators, monitors of civic affairs, and community activists.

## PROJECT ACTIVITIES AND SHORT-TERM RESULTS

The project's major activities are summarized in the time line that appears in Appendix I. These activities have also been fully described in Interim Reports submitted to the National Endowment for Democracy.

In the short-term, the success of these activities was to be judged on the basis of the following criteria:

1. Curriculum Guides, acceptable to Polish and American project consultants and to Polish educators, would be completed for both an elementary and a secondary school course on citizenship for democracy.
2. The Curriculum Plans set forth in these Guides would be explicitly adopted by the Ministry of National Education as the substantive basis for required courses on citizenship in all elementary and secondary schools in Poland.
3. The Curriculum Guides would be used by the Ministry of National Education as the basis for in-service staff development programs for civic education teachers.
4. A course on citizenship in a democracy would be required in the new secondary school curriculum plan being developed by the Ministry.
5. Linkages, operationalized as exchanges or joint civic education programs, would be formed among North American, Western European, and Polish schools.

These remain relevant criteria for assessing the short-term success of the project. However, from the perspective of the Ministry of National Education, one of the most important results of the project is not adequately captured by these formal criteria or even by the articulated goals of the project. A key impact of the project has been the creation of a core group of teachers who not only have a deeper understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship but who have *personally experienced a process of curriculum development that puts democratic values into action.* In this project, the Polish educators were given genuine responsibility for making decisions about the design of the curriculum. They were consistently treated with dignity by their American partners. There was no hierarchy that subordinated Polish teachers to American scholars. In discussions of theory and fact with university scholars, their views were respected. The Polish educators were, in short, treated as professionals. In part as a result of this experience, these teachers will provide a critical leadership resource for future efforts to introduce and strengthen citizenship for democracy in Polish schools.

## Evaluation Criteria 1-3
## Development and Adoption of Project Materials

The project has successfully produced a Curriculum Guide for both an elementary and a secondary course on citizenship for democracy (Criterion 1). The planned Guides have, however, been combined into a single three volume Guide that is attached as Appendix II. The Guide contains:

(a) A Rationale outlining the reasons for an explicit curriculum on citizenship in Polish schools (Volume 1);

(b) Curriculum Plans providing a substantive framework for an elementary and a secondary course (Volume 1);

(c) Sample Lessons for an elementary and a secondary course, indicating how selected content in the Curriculum Plans might be taught (Volume 2); and

(d) Background Readings providing opportunities for teachers to gain a more in-depth understanding of key concepts related to citizenship and democracy (Volume 3).

**The Development Process.** The process of developing the Curriculum Guide modeled the kind of open, democratic educational design process that is common within the United States. The actual development process began with the preparation of a Concept Paper that presented and explained:

a. the goals of the project,
b. the contents of the proposed Curriculum Guide, and
c. a working outline (Curriculum Plan) for a course on citizenship for democracy.

The Concept Paper was prepared by the American co-directors Richard C. Remy and Robert B. Woyach in consultation with several American consultants, including Steven Miller of The Ohio State University, John Patrick of Indiana University, and Charles Bahmueller of the Center for Civic Education in Los Angeles.

While the American co-directors were preparing the Concept Paper, Jacek Strzemieczny, the Polish Co-director, and Witold Monkiewicz, the Project Coordinator, were undertaking an elaborate effort to recruit the best possible educators for participation on two Development Teams, one responsible for the elementary Curriculum Guide, the other responsible for the secondary Curriculum Guide. Announcements about the project and the opportunity to participate was advertized in a weekly periodical for Polish teachers with a circulation of over 50,000. Teachers who applied to be part of the Development Teams were required to have a working knowledge of English but also to prepare written examples of how to teach democratic values to children. In addition, special invitations were sent to about 200 potential candidates who had

participated in previous seminars on citizenship and democracy organized by the American Federation of Teachers. Just over 100 applicants applied for the sixteen planned positions on the two Development Teams. All of these teachers were personally interviewed by the Project Coordinator. Nineteen were selected to participate on the final Development Teams.

The first meeting of the two Development Teams took place in December, 1991. This first Ministry Working Meeting introduced the educators on the Development Teams to the goals of the project. It also provided an opportunity for a series of workshops and lectures by Polish scholars that highlighted some of the challenges the Teams faced in creating a new civic education curriculum for Poland, and the paradoxes of democracy in practice. Working groups clarified the distinctions between the new curriculum being developed and the civic education goals of the former communist regime.

The first meeting between the American consultants and the two Development Teams was a seven-day workshop in January 1992 held at a conference center in Mietne, Poland. The Concept Paper shaped the agenda for this First Development Team Meeting. The meeting was attended by several teacher-advisors from the National Center for Teacher Training in Warsaw, project co-directors and staff, and the nineteen educators who made up the two Development Teams. At the meeting, presentations on basic principles of democracy and citizenship were combined with workshops on a range of instructional strategies for citizenship education. The last two full days were largely devoted to working sessions at which the Development Teams began drafting their respective Curriculum Plans. The draft Curriculum Plans were translated and reviewed by the American consultants upon their return to the United States.

The Development Teams continued their work on the Curriculum Guide during the winter and spring of 1992. A second Ministry Working Meeting in March was devoted largely to work on the Curriculum Plans. Revisions were made in light of the American team's reaction to the Plans drafted at the January meeting. Time was also devoted to initial work on sample lessons.

The revised Curriculum Plans that were drafted at the March meeting were circulated to civic education teachers throughout Poland for review. These reviews and interim work on sample lesson plans provided the basis for the third Ministry Working Meeting's agenda in April. At this meeting the Development Teams revised the Curriculum Plans again and developed a plan of action to move forward on the development of sample lessons.

After the April Working Meeting, the revised Curriculum Plans were sent both to scholars in Poland and to the American team for further review. The reactions of the Polish scholars provided input for yet another revision of the Curriculum Plans at the fourth Ministry Working Meeting in early June 1992. Time at this meeting was also devoted to additional presentations and reviews of sample lessons. In addition, the Development Teams began discussing criteria for materials to be included in the final volume of the Curriculum Guide: the Background Readings.

The American team's review of the draft Curriculum Plans formed a basis for further elaboration and revision of the Plans at a second meeting between the American consultants and the two Development Teams in late June. This meeting also provided an opportunity for the American and Polish teams to work together on the rationale statements and educational objectives for the two courses. During the meeting American consultants met individually with Development Team members to review sample lessons.

A fifth and final Ministry Working Meeting was held in mid-July. At this meeting the Development Teams made final changes to the Curriculum Plans, submitted their final sample lesson plans, and made final selections of background readings. At that time the Curriculum Guide was turned over to editors chosen from among the Development Team members. These editors put the manuscripts into final form for publication.

**Reactions to the Project.** The quality of the Curriculum Guide was clearly dependent on both the commitment and skill of the Polish Development Teams and the development process organized by the Americans. On both counts, and on both sides, the experience of the project led to a deepening commitment to the relationship and to the materials being produced.

For the American team, involvement in the process was sometimes frustrating. After the initial development of the Concept Paper, the real action lay several thousand miles away--in Poland. At the same time, the American team was consistently impressed by the sophistication, commitment, and professionalism of their Polish colleagues. It was clear from the start that the Project Coordinator and Polish Co-director had done an excellent job of recruiting the Development Teams and of identifying Polish scholars who could contribute meaningfully to the project.

On the Polish side, there was from the start an appreciation of the American team's commitment to the project and their skill in organizing an effective development process. Moreover, the project clearly demonstrated that a quality curriculum could be created through a process that itself embodied democratic values of participation, mutual respect, collegial learning, and compromise. The experience was important not only for the Polish teachers, but

perhaps moreso for the Polish scholars, who were not accustomed to a non-hierarchical relationship between university and pre-collegiate educators.

**A Basis for Subsequent Efforts.** One indicator of the quality of the Curriculum Guide lies in the Ministry's acceptance of the Curriculum Plans and other materials as the basis for subsequent curriculum development (Criterion 2) and in-service (Criterion 3). On the basis of this test, the project has been a complete success.

In September, 1992 the Ministry and the Mershon Center began a new project to develop text and materials for the elementary school citizenship course. With funding from the United States Information Agency, a team of eight Polish educators, including six from the original Development Team, took up residence at the Mershon Center to receive in-depth training and to draft the materials that will be used in Polish classrooms. Although the Curriculum Plan has changed as materials were developed, the draft Curriculum Guide provided the substantive starting point for this project. Indeed, the fact that most of the educators chosen for this project were part of the original Development Team is clear evidence of the Ministry's commitment to the original Curriculum Plans as the basis for the new curriculum.

Work has yet to begin on the secondary curriculum materials. Nonetheless, there is every reason to believe that the secondary Curriculum Plan will be used as the substantive basis for that work as well.

The Department of Teacher Education has also reaffirmed its intention of using the Curriculum Guide as a basis for in-service and pre-service training (Criterion 3). That intention will be implemented in part through the project that was funded last summer by the National

Endowment for Democracy to establish five Centers for Civic and Economic Education in major cities around Poland.

The Ministry's commitment to the Curriculum Guide has been concretely demonstrated in two addition ways. As soon as final, edited versions of the Curriculum Plans were available, the Ministry arranged for them to be published in *Spoleczenstwo Otwarte*, a monthly pedagogical journal for civic education teachers. The journal has a nationwide circulation of 12,000. Similarly, in November 1992, Ministry officials participating in a Council of Europe Seminar on "Democratization of Secondary Education in Europe" disseminated information on the project and copies of the Curriculum Plans to education officials from throughout Europe. Many of the officials present commended the Polish participants on both the design of the project and the curricula that had been developed.

**Learning About Democracy and Citizenship.** In another sense, the quality of the Curriculum Guide must be judged on the basis of an ancillary goal of the project: the extent to which it has helped Polish educators to clarify and deepen their understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship. In a sense this goal was a test not only of the quality of the Guide but of the very relevance of American knowledge and American experts to the process of curricular reform in Poland.

At every step of the development process, efforts have been made to share the best available knowledge about democracy and citizenship. Presentations by American consultants at the First Development Team Meeting explained the "universal principles" of constitutional democracy, including limited government, majority rule with minority rights, and the critical importance of civil liberties. The project has not avoided such controversial questions as the role of the Church

in Polish politics or discrimination against Jews. The project has also stressed the importance of civic participation, not just in the form of voting and contacts with elected officials (the state-centered manifestations of democracy) but also direct citizen participation in groups devoted to achieving the public good.

The educators on the Development Teams were receptive to these ideas. In fact, their sophistication in dealing with many of them demonstrated past study and a commitment that they as individuals have to the democratic reforms taking place in Poland. At the same time, the Development Teams were resistant to focusing the curriculum too much on "theoretical" principles and values rather than on more concrete descriptions of government institutions and citizenship in practice. The Polish educators argued that too abstract an approach would not work given the experience of the past. The communist regime had used many of the same terms and even the same concepts. Precisely because democratic concepts had been perverted by the communist regime, the new civic education program faced an enormous challenge. It had to overcome skepticism about civic life and democracy. Too abstract an approach to the curriculum could create the impression that nothing more had happened than a change from one irrelevant ideology to another. Civic education in Poland had to focus far more on the practice of democracy than was the case in well-established democracies like the United States.

The debate over the relative importance of principles and practice in the end provided a valuable learning experience for both the Development Teams and the Americans. Both the Americans and the Development Teams were challenged to more fully develop their understanding of the key principles of democracy and how these principles could be translated into practice in contemporary Poland. The final Curriculum Plans reflect the melding of the two

approaches. In the final Plans far greater attention is given to theoretical principles and values upon which democracy is based than the Development Teams had originally envisioned. Yet, students are introduced to democratic concepts through the functioning of social groups in ways that the American team would not have anticipated. Importantly, one of the major reasons for the ways in which the two approaches were ultimately blended was the feedback from the Polish scholars who reviewed the draft Curriculum Plans. One of their more uniform critiques was that the Plans lacked enough attention to democratic values and to the rights of citizens.

**Introducing New Instructional Strategies.** A second ancillary goal of the project, and another measure of the success of the Curriculum Guide, lay in the introduction of new instructional strategies. At both the First and the Second Development Team meetings, significant time was set aside to demonstrate and review lessons developed in the United States.

If the Development Teams had initial uncertainties about the relative importance of theoretical principles and values in the curriculum, they had no doubts about the new instructional strategies. All the lessons shared at the First Development Team meeting focused on topics related to substantive presentations on citizenship and democracy. However, the demand for more lessons that modeled alternative instructional strategies was so great that at the Second Development Team meeting in June the American team had to expand the conceptual domain in order to adequately meet the demand for model lesson plans.

As expected, the International Student Leadership Institute (ISLI) also provided an important opportunity to introduce the Development Teams to experiential learning strategies. Four members of the Secondary Development Team attended the Institute, along with four secondary school students from different parts of Poland. ISLI was a catalytic experience in many ways.

This exposure to youth leadership development cemented earlier conclusions by the Development Teams that civic leadership was an important concern for the citizenship curriculum. As importantly, the group generally believed that the learning strategies used in leadership development programs, which tend to be highly experiential, would contribute greatly to the overall reform of citizenship education in Poland. A full report of the ISLI experience was given at the March meeting of the Development Teams. Two of the teachers who attended ISLI also did workshops on civic leadership training in their home districts in subsequent months.

A number of the sample lessons prepared for the Curriculum Guide incorporate these new instructional strategies. Several were suggested by model lessons presented at the Development Team meetings in January and June. A few were drawn explicitly from ISLI activities.

## Evaluation Criterion 4
## The Ministry's Commitment to the Citizenship Curriculum

The long-term impact of the project, and the long-term success of the overall *Education for Citizenship in Democracy* initiative, depends on the commitment of the Ministry of National Education as well as the efforts of Polish educators involved in the process. The Ministry's support for the current project, as evidenced above, is important in this regard. Since the first Co-director's meeting in October 1991, there have been no major, substantive changes in the goals of the project. Those procedural and budgetary changes that have occurred have come about as we have learned how to conduct the project more effectively and as the financial needs of the Ministry have changed.

This commitment has been expressed in the following concrete ways:

1. The Education Act that was passed by the Sejm in the fall of 1991 gave the Ministry of National Education authority to establish minimum curriculum standards for Polish schools. The Ministry subsequently established new requirements for civic education. Those new standards call for a minimum of two hours per week to be devoted to civic education for three years in elementary schools (grades 6-8) and for three years in secondary schools. This assures the place of civic education in both the elementary and secondary curricula (Criterion 4).

2. The Ministry has also continued to support and fully participate in efforts to achieve the goals of the initiative. For example,

    - As noted above, the Ministry is a partner in the current USIA-funded project to develop materials for the elementary course on Citizenship for Democracy.
    - It is also a partner in a project funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts aimed at developing a course on Schooling for Democracy. This course will be required of all pre-service teachers in Poland in order to obtain certification.
    - The Ministry was a co-sponsor with the Mershon Center of a second proposal to the National Endowment for Democracy to establish five Centers for Civic and Economic Education around Poland.

    In all of these efforts, the Ministry has continued to devote scarce resources to pay for most of the in-country costs associated with the initiative.

3. Finally, as part of the current project, the Ministry has begun an effort to publish monographs on civic and economic education to supplement the Curriculum Guide. The monograph series will include:

    - Five chapters from the book *Preparing for Leadership*, a guide to civic leadership skills written for secondary school students by Robert B. Woyach.
    - *A Framework for Teaching the Basic Concepts: Master Curriculum Guide in Economics*. Published originally by the Joint (U.S.) Council on Economic Education.
    - *Teaching Strategies--High School Economics Courses*. Published by the Joint Council on Economic Education.
    - *Strategies for Teaching Economics--Intermediate Level*. Published by the Joint Council on Economic Education.
    - *Authority: Law in a Free Society Series*. Published originally by the Center for Civic Education, Calabasas, California.
    - *Justice: Law in a Free Society Series*. Center for Civic Education.
    - *Responsibility: Law in a Free Society Series*. Center for Civic Education.

- *Teacher's Guide to Law in a Free Society: Authority, Justice, Responsibility*, based on three original *Teacher's Guides* published by the Center for Civic Education.

The significance of these steps appears all the greater in light of political events in Poland during this time. Since July 1991, Poland has had three different governments and a major election. Despite the apparent instability in the political coalition governing Poland, the Ministry of National Education has maintained steadfast support for this project and the overall *Education for Citizenship in Democracy* initiative.

## Evaluation Criterion 5
## Linkages between Poland and the West

A final ancillary goal of the project has been to lay the foundation for future collaboration between Polish schools and educational institutions and their counterparts in the United States. The main strategy for achieving this goal has been to encourage relationships arising from the collaborative effort itself. Since funds for long-term collaborative projects are not available at the present time, the project's ultimate success with respect to this criterion remains to be seen. However, the project has made some impressive strides.

Participation in the International Student Leadership Institute (ISLI) has, for example, led to an important continuing relationship. Because of the participation of Polish students and teachers in the 1992 ISLI, space was reserved for two Polish schools (six students and two teachers) in the 1993 Institute. (Three students and a teacher from a school in Warsaw did attend.) While the future level of participation by Polish schools in ISLI remains unclear because of funding uncertainties, the inclusion of Polish teachers and students in this important

multinational program is assured. In 1993 a Polish student was elected to the ISLI Board of Regents, the Institute's governing and programming body.

The project co-directors have also successfully mobilized two unexpected opportunities to expand linkages between the National Center for Teacher Training and the United States. In March, 1992 four members of the secondary Development Team participated in a USIA-Funded study tour at Russell Sage College in New York. In October 1992 two Polish colleagues from the National Center for Teacher Training who have been active in the project participated in a USIA-funded study tour that visited the Center for Civic Education (Los Angeles), the Social Studies Development Center (Indiana University), and the Atlantic Council (Washington D.C.) in addition to the Mershon Center.

More of these kinds of linkages will be possible in the future when the five Centers for Civic and Economic Education have been successfully launched. New programs envisioned at the Mershon Center to link schools in the United States with schools in other countries via computer will further contribute to the opportunities for communication and cooperation.

## ACHIEVING THE PROJECT'S LONG TERM GOALS: Priorities for the Future

The ultimate goal of this project has been to create a foundation which will, over time, contribute in a positive and significant way to the democratization of Polish society. When it is fully developed and implemented, the school curriculum we have begun to develop through this project will provide an essential primer in democracy and democratic citizenship to an entire generation of Polish youth. With the Curriculum Guide, the Ministry and the National Center for Teacher Training have the basic tools needed to begin the process of retraining Polish

teachers not only on the mechanics of teaching this material but on the concepts of democracy and citizenship that should be reinforced throughout the school curriculum. The Development Teams and others associated with this project provide a core group of teacher-trainers who can take a leadership role in this process.

The long-term effect of the new curriculum and these teacher training efforts can, of course, only be assessed over time. They also must be assessed in light of other developments, including the ability of the larger *Education for Citizenship in Democracy* initiative to put into place other elements needed to fully implement this citizenship curriculum. As these efforts progress, however, it will be important to take into account lessons learned through this project. Those lessons include both strategies that have worked and should be reaffirmed in future projects, and new priorities that should be attended to in the overall effort to contribute to the strengthening of democracy in Poland.

## Creating a Genuine Partnership

One of the most important accomplishments of this project, indeed of the overall *Education for Citizenship in Democracy* initiative, has been the creation of a sense of partnership in which both Poles and Americans are recognized as having a legitimate stake in the results of the project. The project might well have floundered at various points were it not for the mutual trust and respect that has emerged between the American consultants and the Polish Development Teams. It clearly would not have been as successful were it not for this partnership. If future opportunities for democratic change are to be genuinely successful, they must be organized in ways that facilitate such a partnership.

The reality and the importance of this relationship was clearly illustrated in the dialogue about educational goals at the First and Second Development Team Meetings. At the First Development Team Meeting a major session was devoted to the writing of educational goals, an important element of the Curriculum Plans. The resulting discussion revealed a fundamentally different approach between American and Polish educators. The issue resurfaced at the Second Development Team meeting in the final drafting of educational goals for the two.Curriculum Plans.

The debate over goals could have easily been solved either by insisting on the importation of American expertise or by dismissing the Americans as outsiders who had no stake in the resulting curriculum. In the atmosphere of partnership that had emerged, the debate in fact became a discussion among professional educators about how best to operationalize educational goal statements. Lines of nationality ultimately became blurred. In the end, the goal statements incorporated into the Curriculum Plans were more precise, more meaningful, and more logically constructed than might otherwise have been the case. Furthermore, the disagreement strengthened the relationship among project participants by demonstrating that the Americans cared enough to participate fully in the dialogue but had no pretense of being in control of the outcome. Many Americans left the discussion with the belief that the Polish system of categorizing goals was in fact superior. The sense of partnership had made the learning experience a two- way street.

The emergence of a partnership between Poles and Americans in this project has not been an accident. It has been, and in future projects must be, cultivated in various ways:

1. Interaction between Poles and Americans must be premised on the assumption that learning within projects of this kind can and should be a two-way street. Americans

may come to this relationship as "experts," but experts can always learn more about their own fields through interaction with other professionals.

2. The workplans of projects must be structured so that interaction between Poles and Americans is on-going. In this project one or more members of the American team met with Polish colleagues on the Development Team on several occasions:

   October — The co-director's meeting was attended by five members of the American team. The Americans also met with prospective members of the Development Teams at this time.

   January — All members of the American team stayed for the entire Development Team meeting. Thus the Americans were available for consulting as the work of the Development Teams progressed. There were also added opportunities for informal dialogue and building professional relationships.

   February — One member of the American team (Robert Woyach) hosted the Polish participants at the International Student Leadership Institute in Germany.

   March — Two members of the American team (John Patrick and Sandra Stotsky) participated in the Russell Sage program.

   April — Dr. Strzemieczny's visit to the Mershon Center provided a further opportunity to coordinate thinking about the project.

   June — All but one of the Americans involved in the First Development Team meeting returned to Poland to carry through the process.

3. Finally, Americans who constitute the core team for such projects must have a strong professional commitment to the outcome. Partnerships can only be built over time. This requires a commitment of time and energy. It also requires that American institutions be adequately compensated for the lost services of their faculty and other professionals.

## Overcoming Skepticism about Democratic Ideals

This project has also revealed what will be one of the greatest challenges to introducing democracy and democratic citizenship into Polish schools: the skepticism of students, teachers, and citizens toward political theory and values.

A premise of this project has been that there are "universal" principles which are at the heart of democratic theory and practice regardless of the way these principles are elaborated within particular democratic systems. That assumption received unexpected, and in a sense unwelcome, confirmation as American participants became increasingly aware of the degree to which many of those core principles and practices were incorporated but perverted within the communist system. Principles such as popular sovereignty, majority rule and human rights were all part of communist system of values. They were also interpreted in the light of Leninist assumptions so that they became a hollow shell. Practices such as freedom of association and voting also played a role in the communist system, but were recognized by all as mere rituals that had no impact on the exercise of politics.

New educational programs on citizenship and democracy face the challenge of convincing skeptical students, teachers, and citizens that these same principles and practices have real meaning when embedded in a genuinely democratic political system. In some cases that can be done by pointing directly to the contrast between communist rhetoric and democratic practice in the West. Ultimately, however, it requires that practical political change within Poland go hand-in-hand with educational reform. New democratic institutions in Poland cannot survive unless Polish youth are educated in democratic citizenship. But Polish youth cannot be educated for democratic citizenship unless they see and experience the vitality and success of democratic institutions around them. Among other things, this may mean that Polish educators, far more than their American counterparts, must be willing to integrate real world citizenship into their classroom instruction. To an extent unnecessary in the West, they must involve their students in the practice of democracy. They must open up their classrooms to people in the community

who exemplify democratic citizenship and leadership. Ultimately, Polish educators themselves must become models of responsible citizenship and civic leadership.

## Developing Programs in Civic Leadership

The materials on civic leadership to which the Development Teams were exposed clearly struck a responsive cord. The attraction of Polish educators to civic leadership training as a component of citizenship education is understandable on at least three counts.

First, national opinion polls have pointed to a desire on the part of many Poles for a "strong" leader. The sentiment was not surprising given the instability of the Polish government and the formidable challenges facing Polish society today. However, if a strong leader is interpreted as someone "who does what he wants regardless of the will of the people," or as "being in charge and telling others what to do," investments in citizenship education for democracy may yield a small return. Strong leaders like Jozef Pilsudski leave little room for meaningful citizenship.

Second, coming from a system in which participation in civic life was merely a ritual, Poles are extremely sensitive to the need to create a new generation of students who are capable of effective citizen participation. They want to see a generation of students who can initiate and structure activities aimed at achieving the public good within their local, regional and national communities. In the United States, this training has been achieved primarily through leadership development programs.

Finally, it is arguable that given the challenges Poland faces today, what Polish society needs most is a new generation that is willing and able to take personal initiative to forge a vision of the public good and to mobilize their fellow citizens to work toward that vision. In this

sense, leadership and training for leadership is a critical need in Poland today. Moreover, this is not a training that is needed by a small elite predisposed to leadership. It is needed by as a large a proportion of the population as possible.

Future programs to create and strengthen democratic citizenship in Poland and elsewhere need to incorporate a civic leadership dimension:

1. Civic leadership should be an explicit concern of citizenship curricula in the schools. The curriculum should help students clarify the attributes of an effective, democratic leader. It should encourage and foster the ideal that all citizens should be capable of and willing to exercise leadership with respect to issues of concern to them. Further, it should help students begin to develop some of the central skills of civic leadership. The curriculum being developed for Poland as a result of this project goes a long way toward realizing this ideal.
2. Youth organizations that provide opportunities for young people to exercise and learn leadership in a supportive atmosphere should be encouraged in Poland and other countries seeking to strengthen citizenship education programs.
3. Institutions devoted to citizenship education, such as the new Centers for Civic and Economic Education in Poland, should be charged with the development of model programs in civic leadership training for youth. Youth leadership programs in the United States provide models that can guide this effort.
4. Finally, to make experiential programs genuinely effective requires that adults working with young people learn mentoring skills as well as a cognitive understanding and commitment to democratic leadership. Institutions devoted to citizenship education should, therefore, also be engaged in the training of teachers and other adults in youth-serving or youth-membership organizations to provide the kind of mentoring that is needed.

## Addressing the Need for Economic Education

In the United States there is a very clear distinction between citizenship education and economics education. The former prepares students to participate in the political life of their communities and nation. The latter prepares them to understand and participate in its economic

life. The intersection between the two fields occurs primarily in terms of the impact of government fiscal and monetary policy on the macro-economy.

In Poland the distinction between citizenship and economics education is more difficult to justify. The educators on the Development Teams, in fact, regarded instruction on economics as integral to successfully building democracy in Poland. A significant portion of both Curriculum Plans is in fact devoted to economics. Three of the eight monographs which the Ministry will publish to supplement the Curriculum Guide are devoted to economics education.

The rationale for the inclusion of economics in the citizenship curriculum and in instructional efforts to implement and strengthen *Education for Citizenship in Democracy* is clear-cut in the Polish context. If democratic institutions in Poland are to succeed, the economic situation of Polish citizens must be improved. That improvement depends on the successful shift toward a free market/private enterprise system. But the success of the free market system in Poland cannot be taken for granted. Most Polish students, teachers, and citizens have had no instruction on even the most basic economic concepts, including how prices are set within free markets. The "invisible hand" that most people in the West accept as the most efficient and fairest way to distribute resources is distrusted by many in Poland. In short, in Poland economics education is not a luxury. It is a precondition for the survival of democracy.

## APPENDIX I
## SUMMARY OF PROJECT ACTIVITIES

October 1991

Co-directors' Planning Meeting. Warsaw, Poland.

November 1991-January 1992

Preparation of Concept Paper

Recruitment of teachers for Development Teams

First Ministry Working Meeting. Warsaw, Poland

January 1992

First Development Team Meeting. Mietne, Poland

February 1992

Review of project materials by American consultants

March 1992

International Student Leadership Institute. Oberwesel, Germany

USIA Study Tour on Citizenship and Democracy. Russell Sage College, New York

Second Ministry Working Meeting. Warsaw, Poland

Review of project materials by Polish civic education teachers

April 1992

Third Ministry Working Meeting. Warsaw, Poland

Co-directors Planning Meeting. Mershon Center

May 1992

Review of project materials by Polish scholars, American consultants

June 1992

Fourth Ministry Working Meeting. Warsaw, Poland

Second Development Team Meeting. Mietne, Poland

July 1992

Fifth Ministry Working Meeting

August-October 1992

Final Editing of the Curriculum Guide

Negotiation of rights to translate and reprint monograph series

USIA Study Tour on Education for Democracy. Mershon Center, Atlantic Council, Indiana University, Center for Civic Education

November 1992-May 1993

Publication of Curriculum Plans in *Spoleczenstwo Otwarte*

Dissemination of Curriculum Plans at Council of Europe Seminar on "Democratization of Secondary Education in Europe"

Printing of the Curriculum Guide and monograph series

## APPENDIX II
## THREE VOLUME CURRICULUM GUIDE